



No. 1,232 London, Feb. 5, 1960 6d.

US Air Express
Edition 10 cents

Sahara Bomb protest MICHAEL SCOTT APPEALS TO ALL AFRICA

'We ask you: Help this action to go on'

THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT, LEADER OF THE PROTEST TEAM AGAINST NUCLEAR TESTS IN THE SAHARA, HAS FLOWN TO CASABLANCA, MOROCCO. HE IS FOLLOWING UP INVESTIGATIONS INTO A POSSIBLE NEW ATTEMPT BY HIS TEAM TO REACH THE TESTING AREA FROM MOROCCO.

He flew there from Tunis, where he had been attending the All Africa People's Conference.

The team, which is attempting to make a non-violent entry into the area near Reggan in order to try to halt the test, has already been thrown out of French territory three times after crossing the border from Ghana into the Upper Volta.

The rest of the team is waiting in Accra to hear the results of Michael Scott's mission.

In the Ghana capital there have been large demonstrations on the last two Saturdays. On January 23,600 students from the University College of Accra demonstrated outside the French Embassy. Then last Saturday several activists from the Convention People's Party (the Government Party) also demonstrated outside the same building.

French condemn

The Federation de l'Education Nationale, which comprises all the teachers' unions in France and has a membership of more than 250,000, unanimously condemned atomic tests by all countries (including France) at

press on behalf of the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament:

I have been asked by the Sahara Protest Team and the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament, from whom its main support has been derived, to appeal to the All Africa People's Conference to enable it to go forward and to take further action to stop France using African soil to test her atom bombs.

The French Government in Paris and the authorities of the French African territory of Upper Volta have for eight weeks forcibly prevented our appeals being made to the people of the Upper Volta by ordering armed guards to seize leaflets from the hands of people the team was distributing them to, by the seizure of our vehicles, stores, loud-speakers and equipment and finally by arresting the members of the team themselves carrying them bodily into a police van and importing them 80 miles back on to the frontier between Haute Volta and Ghana.

These actions have extended over the period

vehicles as well as stores and equipment including loud-speaker tape recordings of our manifesto in the French, Arabic and Hausa languages. And we are in need of another and more long range transmitter.

But I have been asked to explore here the possibility of making another or perhaps more than one other approach, either

dience and non-violent direct action can still at this last hour help to save the soul of France and soil of Africa from the destructive violence that is being committed and being prepared to be committed.

Finally we believe, and have learned in eight weeks of true comradeship together under very difficult conditions, that ours is a struggle not only against a new form of nuclear imperialist menace, but is also a struggle against all the old and outworn ideas and false faith and fanaticisms of race theories, including all those distorted religions and beliefs about what Christ and other prophets are believed to have taught, but which are inadequate to explain the great universe in which we live, and inadequate to the great new era into which mankind is moving at a speed faster than the light of empirical knowledge and pure mathematics can guide him.

It would be a tragedy if, in the struggle against the old imperialism and the old ideas that went with it, Africa were to become infected by them or fail to free itself from the grip of these outworn notions of race and nation and to enable its people to meet this threat of the new



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The Federation de l'Education Nationale, which comprises all the teachers' unions in France and has a membership of more than 250,000, unanimously condemned atomic tests by all countries (including France) at a meeting early last month.

The following is Michael Scott's message to the All Africa People's Conference at Tunis:

The Sahara Protest Team and the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament send their fraternal greetings to the All Africa People's Conference and wish it all possible success in the deliberations which will be of decisive importance for Africa and her peoples.

In particular it commends to the urgent attention of the Conference the imminent threat by the Government of France to use African territory for the testing of nuclear weapons, a course which can only increase the slow poisoning of the earth and atmosphere by radio-activity, and may, in the event of war, draw Africa into its orbit and spell sudden death and destruction to millions of human beings indiscriminately.

The Sahara Protest Team offers the service of its members for the continuation of a non-violent protest action against the proposed tests in the Sahara and trusts that ways and means will be found, as a matter of urgency, to enable this protest to be carried on through the African states and the territories under French rule bordering on the Sahara by whatever means of transport and communication may prove practicable.

Michael Scott flew to Tunis for the Conference on January 25. Because of the large number of speeches from delegates, he (like all representatives of international organisations) was unable to address the assembly personally, but the following statement to the Conference about the protest team was circulated to the delegates and

to test her atom bombs.

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These actions have extended over the period of the last eight weeks up to last week when the final action took place on foot past the town of Bittu. The loss of vehicles, equipment and stores, and physical obstruction of every attempt to proceed by other means, makes it necessary to address an urgent appeal both to the leaders of the All Africa People's Conference and also to the Peoples of the French African territories surrounding the Sahara.

Guards disapprove

Although many of these territories are still subordinate to France and to the French policy of utilising Algeria and Sahara for increasing the supposed prestige power and enrichment of France, the fact is, from what we were able to observe, that the African people in Haute Volta (including the African guards under French command) disapprove of this and strongly disliked doing what they were ordered to do at the time of our arrest. (The dismantling of our loud speakers was done by the French Commandant and Chef de Post themselves.)

This fact has encouraged us to feel that an appeal should be made by this All Africa People's Conference to the African peoples of these territories in the French community to make it possible for the team to pass through to the Sahara irrespective of the orders which have come from Paris that we should be prevented from passing through their country.

Members of the Team, which were drawn from Ghana and Nigeria and included the President of the African Congress of Basutoland and two volunteers each from the Direct Action committees of Britain and America, are ready for further action if the way can be opened, though at present the position is that we have had confiscated two of our three



Michael Scott waiting to address a rally in Accra in support of the international team challenging the French nuclear test at Reggan in the Sahara.

through one of the other independent African states, as we tried to do through Ghana, or through Nigeria or one of the other French African territories. One of our team members, a Frenchman himself named Pierre Martin, who had fasted for 12 days in protest against France's action, has just been deported not only from Dahomey but even from the United Nations trust territory of Togoland under French administration, though the people had arranged a welcome for him. (He is to appeal to the Trusteeship Council against this.)

Here I have been asked to say that a number of us who have taken part in each of the three main actions I would have described if I had time, are prepared to fly into the testing area if a plane and take-off strip can be provided before the 12-hour warning promised by the French aviation authorities is given.

Perhaps it would be possible for a sub-committee of the Conference to be formed to explore ways and means of enabling this direct action to go forward.

We are trying to find a way whereby the people of Africa and the world can stop the crimes which are already being committed and may even more tragically be committed in the future than even the bloody conflict which is already outraging the conscience of mankind in Algeria.

We believe that our way of civil disobedience

against those distorted religions and beliefs about what Christ and other prophets are believed to have taught, but which are inadequate to explain the great universe in which we live, and inadequate to the great new era into which mankind is moving at a speed faster than the light of empirical knowledge and pure mathematics can guide him.

It would be a tragedy if, in the struggle against the old imperialism and the old ideas that went with it, Africa were to become infected by them or fail to free itself from the grip of these outworn notions of race and nation and to enable its people to meet this threat of the new nuclear Imperialism. Clearly there are many African leaders who sense these dangers and are finding their way to the vision of another future for this great continent than what Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has warned against as the attempted Balkanisation of Africa. That all belongs to other subjects under the consideration of delegates to this Conference.

All must resist

Finally I have been asked to give the Chairman of the Conference a flag. It was designed and made by the Ghanaian members of the Sahara Protest Team. Its colours are black and white and they are equal in value and importance. Thus it symbolises, in the words of Mr. Gbedemah which I was asked to convey to you, the fact that the atom bomb is a threat to all humanity not only to Africa. As such it is all humanity of whatever race or nation or religion that must rise up and resist this threat, and in the very process of resisting it create a free world where men and women of all colours can be free and equal. The watchwords that the French people chose in their hour of greatest triumph must be made the heritage of Africa and of all mankind.

The leaders of Africa, because this continent is the last to be freed from the old enslavements, will show humanity the way to free itself not only from outworn systems but outworn ideas—products of the deadly utilitarianism and ruthless disregard of human life and values into which the world has fallen after the wars and persecutions of this century of blood and brutalisation of man.

We would ask you to appoint a special committee to explore ways and means of finding volunteers to help this action to go on.

HOW SOON IS 'NOT YET'?

Austin Underwood, Chairman of the Southern Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and a member of the Campaign Executive discusses the growing support for direct action.

"SPECTACULAR and unusual action is necessary to stir the public conscience. . . ." This was the phrase used by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War when they announced the first Aldermaston march at Easter, 1958.

How do we interpret this as we prepare for the third Aldermaston march? When Hugh Brock, Pat Arrowsmith, April Carter, organisers of the first march, lie in jail? How far has the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament moved as we prepare for our second anniversary meeting in London's Central Hall?

The work of consolidation done by the Campaign has been enormous, not only in Britain, but throughout the world, and we must pay tribute to Peggy Duff and the small band of workers in Fleet Street who have knit everything together. The Campaign is committed to securing unilateral, unconditional nuclear disarmament. Committed to letting Britain lead. Yet the building of rocket sites goes on faster than ever.

The lag of the Campaign's momentum behind the indecent speed with which this island has been spiked with rockets is a reminder of the lost years whilst they built the Bomb and we fumbled forward.

I believe, as increasing numbers are believing, that the methods of Direct Action are proving themselves to be the signposts on the right road to the end of nuclear arms in this country. In considering the increase of the 45 Swaffham demonstrators to the 82 at Harrington, the increase of the 50 supporters to 200, one cannot help noting the calibre and determination of those who joined this time.

Moment of decision

It is to the gates of Holloway and Brixton that we must turn on February 13, when the six members of the Direct Action Committee will be released. For, in the words of Marjorie Swann, who has just served six months on the other side of the Atlantic:

"We will have peace when we are

By Austin Underwood

prisons of the land will not be able to contain us," as Dr. Jack Mongar wrote recently.

It is of the utmost importance that, during the coming year, the programme and tactics of the Campaign should be democratically discussed and each project carried out only after careful preparation and with a calculated objective.

Preparations for the third Aldermaston march are already in hand. The Campaign has yet to decide, however, what is to be asked of the thousands who gather in Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday, remembering that sympathisers, supporters, campaigners and direct actionists can each undertake specific, calculated tasks without conflicting with each other. We shall be failing if, apart from restating our aim, we do not specify the calculated tasks of the coming year.

Direct action at Foulness and a great supporting demonstration will be the next immediate step. This time, supporters of direct action can play an important, well-briefed part. They could number a thousand if everyone who in their heart supported the Harrington demonstration goes to Foulness.

Let it be firmly understood, these supporters are not mere onlookers, nor just those who are prepared to see others face possible arrest and are not prepared to go to prison themselves. They are those who are forming the critical mass of humanity,

in training as it were, which must eventually pit itself against the critical mass of the Bomb when the official leadership of the Campaign decides that only the path of civil disobedience is left open, or when their numbers are so large that they feel they must go it alone with or without the Campaign.

It will be absolutely imperative in that moment that those coming forward should have been trained in the principles of non-violence which direct action entails. A restatement of these principles by the Direct Action Committee should be made now, so that it cannot be misconstrued that direct actionists are merely those "with a thirst for prison," as some campaigners are being asked by some to believe.

Impact of Harrington

The impact of Harrington has been one of the greatest on the public since the Campaign began. Even Aldermaston Marches cannot compare with the newspaper publicity and discussion aroused. The late night court at Northampton and the attendance of the Press at briefing meetings has produced a much greater understanding of our cause.

It is inevitable that greater numbers of supporters are moving towards Direct Action, and the reasons for this gravitation should be fully understood.

Those who still maintain a position of *apartheid* towards Direct Action projects must realise that we are all travelling along the same road. It is illogical, moreover, to imply that there may come a time when one will no longer say "Not yet" and at the same time be antipathetic towards the Direct Action Committee from which much of the fervour of the Campaign was born and is maintained.

For we must recognise that when the call is made for a great demonstration of

civil disobedience it will be the principles and training of non-violent resistance which will provide the method, and it must be those who have had experience in direct action who will organise and control such a demonstration if it is to succeed.



More people are taking to direct action. Above the writer's own photo shows some of the 82 Harrington demonstrators shortly before arrest taking tents and baggage from Geoffrey Bevan.

But how do we reach the non-violent society?

LAURENS OTTER reviews

Toward a Non-violent Society, A Study of some Social Implications of Pacifism, by

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increase of the 45 Saffhill demonstrators to the 82 at Harrington, the increase of the 50 supporters to 200, one cannot help noting the calibre and determination of those who joined this time.

Moment of decision

It is to the gates of Holloway and Brixton that we must turn on February 13, when the six members of the Direct Action Committee will be released. For, in the words of Marjorie Swann, who has just served six months on the other side of the Atlantic:

"We will have peace when we are ready to pay as much for it as we pay for war, with sacrifices as soldiers, wives and parents sacrifice in war; with all the creative talent which is now perverted to plans for mass destruction."

How much are we willing to pay? Those who still feel we should stop short at civil disobedience for thousands say, "Not yet." And when will the Campaign cease to say "Not yet"? If we wait until the count-down is ordered there will be but 15 minutes (six and a half in a "real emergency"). Between now and then there must be a moment of decision.

When the power to decide to press the buttons slip from the hands of politicians, as it has done already, whom does one hope to influence by orthodox argument? When the power slips from the hands even of defence generals who have already realised that to begin the count-down means suicide for Britain, the present tactics of the Campaign will be quite useless.

In these circumstances, the Campaign must ultimately adopt the methods of Direct Action or come to a standstill. This is not to say that it should do so at this moment. The methods of Direct Action certainly cannot be imposed by a normal majority vote upon a large and diffuse body such as that which makes up the Campaign. They have to be arrived at by each individual until one reaches the critical number—"swelled to such a size that the

same road. It is illogical, moreover, to imply that there may come a time when one will no longer say "Not yet" and at the same time be antipathetic towards the Direct Action Committee from which much of the fervour of the Campaign was born and is maintained.

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But how do we reach the non-violent society?

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Toward a Non-violent Society, A Study of some Social Implications of Pacifism, by J. Allen Skinner. A Peace News Pamphlet. Housmans, 6d.

THE first half of this pamphlet gives an excellent summary of the factors that would characterise a fraternal society.

It is one which breaks with the concept of power politics, which gives fulfilment to the individual, and emphasises that the individual only reaches his fullest self-expression in community with others, while communities are only of value in so far as they benefit the individuals they comprise.

It is pointed out that in the past pacifists did not have the same need to express their philosophy in social terms as they now have. But unfortunately the reasons for this greater present need are not explained (except in so far as the growing tendency towards greater centralisation by vitiating democracy impedes minorities, particularly pacifists, in their task of convincing others).

This omission is surprising and somewhat unfortunate in view of Allen Skinner's oft-repeated argument that in the past political pacifists have tended to keep their arguments in second place, colouring their politics whether Liberal, Socialist or Anarchist with a non-violent tinge but not basing their beliefs on such non-violence. It cannot be too strongly stressed that this is no longer sufficient.

Classical socialism was advocated as an economically better society than nineteenth century individualism, and the arguments advanced for it were ones of welfare. Fraternalism, however, is envisaged primarily as a more psychologically satisfying and integrated society than existing welfare managerialism. Here, naturally, the pacifist concern with the treatment of "social wrongdoers" comes in; what Marxists have

tended to dismiss as bourgeois liberalism and to regard as an interest in purely passing and peripheral phenomena, is seen to be in fact a concern with the very basis of social relationship, connected with the belief that, for most people, it is more important to "belong" than to "own."

However, having said: "What is involved here is the substitution of the respect given to power and domination, by values based on respect for the person and the consequent practical recognition in the social order of the value of each individual"—having touched on existing examples of fraternalism, by describing the producers' co-operatives (unfortunately omitting the Collective Contract System) and having generally started well, the pamphlet is weak when it reaches the implementation of these ends.



Despite the name "Towards a Non-violent Society," there is nothing on how the necessary changes would be brought about; moreover, while various changes such as regional devolution are specified, and while it is stressed that over-powerful local councils would be a danger in themselves, there is no explanation of the nature of the checks and balances that would be necessary to prevent this regionalised and vital democracy degenerating into a new centralised society in the same way that the Teutonic Udal system gave way to the centralised national state. This despite the fact that it had already been stressed that more than ever before the whole tendency of modern society is towards centralisation.

More people are taking to direct action. Above the writer's own photo shows some of the 82 Harrington demonstrators shortly before arrest taking tents and baggage from Geoffrey Bevan.

Furthermore, no less than more orthodox political essays, the present pamphlet blandly assumes that coercive Government as such, however minimal, is necessary and by implication desirable; an assumption which led S. E. Parker—in "Freedom"—to accuse radical pacifists of "only wishing to bring about a modification of the coercive apparatus of the state, to achieve a partial dismantling of the power structure," not to go to its roots.

This leaves an unhappy lack of finish to the pamphlet which cannot wholly be justified by lack of space. However, perhaps we can hope for a subsequent report from the Working Party which helped to produce this pamphlet, on the achievement, extent and maintenance of the envisaged changes.

One further flaw emerges, possibly more fundamental than all the others. One is left with the feeling that, at this stage, pacifist social theory is a movement on behalf of the individual rather than of the individual; which is curious stemming from a movement the very basis of which is the need for the individual to take back responsibility for his own actions and life. But perhaps this, too, is more properly in the sphere of a second pamphlet on gaining the non-violent society.

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

DANGEROUS MEN

BRITAIN doesn't know much about her secret police. This is especially dangerous because there are a lot of good liberals who don't care to raise the crucial, awkward questions.

But one friend of mine has asked. How do I know, she inquires, that (as I wrote a fortnight ago) "the British Home Office has, of late, been thumbing through its files on dangerous pacifists with indecent haste?"

Fair question. A very important question, too. Well, of course, I don't have a free pass to all those Home Office filing rooms, though they certainly *do* exist. I am simply putting a few facts together to form a picture of what's happening.

The other day Chief Inspector Stratton of Scotland Yard phoned the Direct Action Committee and asked to be informed as soon as the Committee had decided whether it was going to organise a further picket at the missile base at Watton, Norfolk. Would the Committee mind phoning WHITEhall 1212 when the decision had been made?

This sounded so unbelievable that the Committee phoned him back at once. The Watton project had been discussed at only one place—the Friends' Meeting House at Wellingborough, immediately after the court hearing the previous day at which the Harrington demonstrators were released.

How did Scotland Yard know about the possibility, and so promptly? When asked this question, Chief Inspector Stratton observed: "We have our spies everywhere." So one of the Harrington demonstrators may have been a police spy.

This reminds me of a story in Reg. Reynolds' autobiography in which he confronted a plain-clothes man (who moved in anarchist circles) face to face with the surprise question: "How long ago were you transferred from the Metropolitan Area?" "About three months" came the frank reply.

THE FIRST FIFTY

THE aim for the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund for 1960 is £1,250. I am grateful for the opportunity given to me every fortnight to



The spate of police photographers at all sorts of Left-wing demonstrations is now fairly widely known. Only last week three plain-clothes men were found in an attic in Middlesbrough. They spent two hours there taking pictures of a Communist political school session in the house opposite.

Wasn't it J. R. Clyne, the Home Secretary in the first Labour Government of 1924, who had the best evidence of the lot? When he took office he was amazed to find the great file that his own department had on him. But, of course, he didn't mention it—he was "responsible" by then.

The secret police have become much more efficient since 1924.

Non-violent questions

THOUGH he is not the leader of the African delegation which is at present in London for talks on Kenya's future, Tom Mboya is easily the best known member of the delegation.

This is partly because of the time he has spent in the United States and Britain—he was a student in Ruskin College, Oxford, for a year—and partly because he is easily the most gifted of the Kenya Africans. Merely to hear him say a few sentences makes one realise that he is a man of very powerful intelligence.

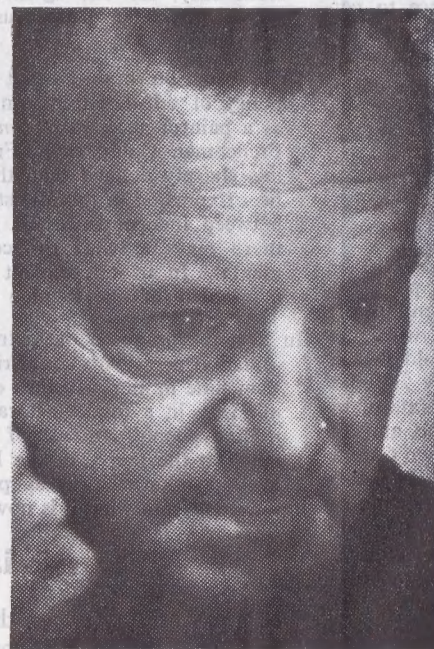
While he is in England for the conference Mboya has been speaking at meetings in various parts of the country. I was lucky enough to hear him speak at a crowded gathering of the New Left Review Club at the beginning of last week. He got a tremendous reception from his audience. The reception was obviously mainly inspired by what he stood for because he didn't say much that was fresh about Kenya in his talk.

One of the questions that he was asked seemed to me very much on the mark, and I was disappointed that he answered it rather briefly. What, he was asked, would happen in Kenya if the conference failed to make any real advances. Mboya replied that he couldn't predict the future, particularly when the conference had hardly begun.

famous Hollywood Ten, and Norman Thomas.

The weakness of the programme was that it gave little indication of the importance of the various kinds of dissent that were expressed. Is the Beat Generation a more important kind of dissent than the left wing of the American trade union movement? Do the comedians have any effect on the society they satirise or are they merely licensed entertainers? How large is the anti-war movement? These are all questions that the programme raised in my mind but came nowhere near answering. Perhaps there will be a follow-up?

Several people have suggested that the least ATV can now do is a programme



One of the most radical critics of American society, sociologist C. Wright Mills, author of "The Power Elite" and "The Causes of World War Three."

on British Dissent. It seems a good idea, but I have my doubts. Perhaps the most striking quality of "We Dissent" was the direct and fresh way in which so many of those taking part expressed their objections.

By Sybil Morrison

ONLY ONE LIFE

Men can die only once, but the spirit of man is like a kite, which rises by the tie that joins it to the earth; life and the sky call.—Coventry Patmore.

A MAN can die only once. This is a trite saying, and there is no one who would not answer "Of course," and dismiss the thought. The thought is one that we all, from the humblest to the highest, the most ignorant to the most knowledgeable, recognise as an inescapable fact.

A man can die only once, and ultimately he stands alone; no one else can die instead of him, no one else can bear his pain, or hie grief, no one else can share his last moment of living knowledge.

There can be, and is, alleviation for physical pain; and for grief and sorrow there is, eventually, the alleviation of time, but there is no cure for the alone-ness of suffering, and there is no escape from the domination of pain other than by understanding and interpretation.

Fear of death is a natural fear; even the very old, who have lived their lives, face in the end something about which no single person, writer, teacher, parent or friend has been able to tell them.

It is natural to fear illness and pain, and when a sudden death occurs there are very few who will not instantly say, or at least think, that this is the way it should happen. The bereaved almost invariably find consolation in the thought that a long illness would have been so very much worse.

During the last war, when bombs were falling, when houses became rubble in a few seconds, when human bodies were blasted into fragments of bone and flesh, when ordinary men and women were scorched and mutilated in matters of moments, it was more terrifying to contemplate burial alive under stacks of solid and impregnable masonry than to contemplate sudden death.

"This reminds me of a story in Reg. Reynolds' autobiography in which he confronted a plain-clothes man (who moved in anarchist circles) face to face with the surprise question: "How long ago were you transferred from the Metropolitan Area?" "About three months" came the frank reply.

THE FIRST FIFTY

THE aim for the Peace

Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund for 1960 is £1,250. I am grateful for the opportunity given to me every fortnight to appeal to the readers of Peace News to help us raise this amount. It is sometimes a help to break down large sums into smaller parts, and what it means in our case is that we have to aim at getting at least £50 every fortnight.

In addition to a gift of \$20 from America, I received this week £4 from a regular contributor to PPU Headquarters Fund, to help reach the first £50. Even so, we have not quite achieved that total as I write. That means a little more to add on to the next fortnight's requirement—unless some reader of Peace News will send me £8 at once to even things up.

In any case, I hope we will not drop too far behind the average requirement at any point, partly because money has to go out of the PPU banking account all the time, and we want to keep money also going into it.

If it is not mathematically true to say that "he gives twice who gives quickly," it is certainly an additional help psychologically to keep up to the level all the time. So who is going to help us reach the £200 by the end of February, by sending their gift now? YOU? Especially if you have not given anything to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund during 1959. Thank you.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

To break down our aim of £1,250 for the year we need £50 each fortnight.

For the first fortnight we have received £42.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



may have been a police spy. This reminds me of a story in Reg. Reynolds' autobiography in which he confronted a plain-clothes man (who moved in anarchist circles) face to face with the surprise question: "How long ago were you transferred from the Metropolitan Area?" "About three months" came the frank reply.

One of the questions that he was asked seemed to me very much on the mark, and I was disappointed that he answered it rather briefly. What, he was asked, would happen in Kenya if the conference failed to make any real advances. Mboya replied that he couldn't predict the future, particularly when the conference had hardly begun, but he was sure that the Africans would not just sit back and say "Hard luck, we'll try again next time."

What I would have liked to know is what the Africans will do in the event of a failure. At the first Accra Conference last year, Mboya with Prime Minister Nkrumah was the leading advocate of non-violent methods for colonial liberation. Are the Kenya Africans thinking of a non-violent protest? Have any preparations been made for the use of such methods? I would have liked Mboya to answer at least these questions. I hope that he and the rest of the Kenyan African leaders have given them some thought; the questions certainly need it.

American dissenters

"It adds brightness to triteness" has always seemed to me a fair description of the workings of commercial television. Very occasionally one of the companies does a programme which can't be described in this way. Associated Television's "We Dissent" was such a programme.

"We Dissent" was a picture of political and social dissent in the United States. It was put together by Kenneth Tynan, The Observer's dramatic critic, who has been in America for the past year. Since the programme lasted 90 minutes, one got a very comprehensive picture of American dissent. Among those appearing were Beat Generation writers Allen Ginsburg and Lawrence Ferlinghetti; Maurice McCrackin, the pastor who refused to pay taxes for arms and who was examined by a psychiatrist and then sent to jail as a result; comedians Nipsey Russell and Mort Sahl, cartoonist Jules Feiffer, novelist Norman Mailer, Professors Wright Mills and Galbraith, screen-writer Dalton Trumbo, who was one of the

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on British Dissent. It seems a good idea, but I have my doubts. Perhaps the most striking quality of "We Dissent" was the direct and fresh way in which so many of those taking part expressed their objections. The British dissenters just because they belong to a larger and better organised dissenting tradition would almost certainly utter a great many more of the traditional clichés of dissent. Or am I being unfair to the British rebels?

CD whitewash

THE first Hansard after the Christmas recess had a surprising final paragraph.

There in the Written Answers for Tuesday, January 26, was Mr. Butler informing Stephen Swinger that in the current financial year local authorities in Britain are expected to spend "£1,248 million" on Civil Defence.

That's nearly as much as the entire arms bill! Through to the Home Office on the 'phone. Relax, it's an error, says a kindly, reassuring (almost Civil Defence) voice. The figure should be "1.248 million," i.e., £1,248,000.

To this sum, however, should be added the £18,480,000 estimated to be spent on CD by civil departments of the central Government.

So for the first time we can arrive at the cost of Civil Defence for the year: £19,728,000. Which is quite expensive whitewash.

These figures should be quoted around. Apart from those given in Hansard last week, they come from Annex III of "Defence Statistics 1959-60" (Cmnd. 661). This costs only ninepence, and can be ordered through any bookseller.

There is a mine of useful information for campaigners here. Why not look it over and write to a few newspapers? I suspect that the Civil Defence farce is still the weakest link in the whole Great Deterrent strategy.

—Phyz

when a sudden death occurs there are very few who will not instantly say, or at least think, that this is the way it should happen. The bereaved almost invariably find consolation in the thought that a long illness would have been so very much worse.

During the last war, when bombs were falling, when houses became rubble in a few seconds, when human bodies were blasted into fragments of bone and flesh, when ordinary men and women were scorched and mutilated in matters of moments, it was more terrifying to contemplate burial alive under stacks of solid and impregnable masonry than to contemplate sudden death.



The First World War, which today is so often impatiently, and sometimes scornfully, dismissed as not comparable in any way to the mass destruction of the Second, was, in fact, for those on the battlefields no different; to the individual there is no particular fear in mass death, because only his own death and his own suffering ultimately mean anything.

A man can only die once; a human being can only be exterminated once; because the fearful holocaust of a nuclear war might well exterminate the whole human race makes no difference to this basic fact. The man buried under rubble, or contaminated with radio-active fall-out is alone in his agony in just the same way as the man who died suffocating in the mud of Flanders without hope of succour. Only he can endure it; only he can suffer it, and die.

The arguments against nuclear war are too often based upon the horror of total extermination, upon the fact that no one will escape. The truth is that no one can escape death whether there is a nuclear war or whether there is never a nuclear war. It is not the fact of death that matters; it is the fact of killing and murder, and the fact that any war, whether it be in Korea or Suez, Hungary or Algeria, is essentially designed to exterminate human beings.

The refusal of most people to look, even if only glancingly, at their own mortality is enough to prove the hopelessness of any campaign based upon the fear of total extermination as different from individual extermination.

War has become the total disaster that has, in fact, been inherent in it since men first took up weapons against each other. It is war that has brought about the threat of total annihilation, and it is war that must be abolished.

It is true that men can only die once; it is also true that they can only live once; they cannot defeat death, but they can live to defeat war; it is a living cause.

De Gaulle's gamble

THERE is no doubt this week which world event calls for first consideration: the sensational happenings in Algeria.

Now that, in appearance at least, it is all over, the rebellion has already been referred to in some quarters as a comic turn. And there is admittedly a laughable contrast between M. Ortiz's last week's heroic declarations of his determination to fight for *Algérie Française* to his last breath and his quick get-away a little more than 48 hours later. But this particular specimen of bombast followed by an amount of discretion practically amounting to betrayal of those left behind does not disprove the terrible gravity of the situation up to the moment when the sheer weight of de Gaulle's personality turned the scales in favour of belated wisdom.

The sheer arrogance of de Gaulle, which so fully accounts for the dislike in which he is held by many people, has paid off splendidly on this occasion. It is an arrogance to which the compliment must be paid that it is built on inflexible strength of character and indifference to personal consequences in the pursuit of any vital aim.

I well remember the distaste with which I heard the announcement in the course of a press conference during the war at the French Headquarters facing the Mall that "the General would now walk round the conference table and shake every journalist's hand"—exactly like one of those line-ups when Royalty graciously walks past a parade of film stars, actors or group of workmen in a factory, basking (or not basking) in the signal honour of such recognition.

Eighteen months ago, when de Gaulle came to power, he was carried there by two factors—the army's enthusiastic acclamation and the French people's disgust with their politicians and by their confidence that he would succeed in solving the Algerian problem. On January 28, when he made the broadcast which has decided the fate of the *colon* insurrection, he stood practically alone and the trouble in Algeria was worse than ever. His own Cabinet was not solid in support of him, he had already had to remove one high-ranking officer from command, the cry "de Gaulle au poteau" had become widely popular, and the troops in Algeria were fraternising with the rebels.

Few men, in such circumstances, would have dared to deliver a speech the keynote of which would not have been persuasion, compromise, diplomatic ambivalence. What de Gaulle did was simply to command, to threaten punishment for guilty leaders and to re-assert his supremacy. The terrific gamble he took on has succeeded and it is well that it has done so.

The war continues

BUT the Algerian-North African crisis is not finished with this. If it is true that the insurgents have been allocated to the Zeralda sector of the fighting against the Muslim Liberation forces, one

COMMENTARY

By

Roy Sherwood

prosecuted—as early reports would seem to indicate—for treason, something more than temporary resentment will be engendered all over Algeria among the French population.

Other facts, too, have to be remembered. The first is that the de Gaulle speech, whilst boldly re-asserting the principle of self-determination for Algeria, hedged this round with so many ifs and whens that there is no chance whatever of its bringing Muslim opposition to an end. In the two-front war which President de Gaulle was compelled to take on last week he has won so far on one front only, the one against the *colon* insurgents. The second one, against the Muslim liberation effort, remains as it was.

Nor must it be forgotten that in France itself the de Gaulle policy of self-determination for Algeria is accepted only as a painful necessity, "*contre-cœur*" as nine out of ten Frenchmen would say. From England the issue looks less sharply defined than the French people realise it to be. Expressed in the fewest words possible the difference between independence for Algeria (under whatever link there may be with France) and integration is fundamental. In an independent Algeria the French will be in a minority of one to nine (or more) Algerians.

In a state composed of metropolitan France and an integrated Algeria with equal rights for all, the slightly more than nine million Muslims of Algeria will be an impotent minority in a total electorate of between fifty and sixty million people. Instead of the French settlers in Algeria being at the mercy of the Muslims, the Muslims will be in a position, as far as power is concerned, not very different from what it is now.

Tunisia's rôle

IN an overall view of the situation, Tunisia must not be forgotten. According to some reports the opportunity of the present French difficulties in Algeria might be taken to enforce the evacuation from Bizerta of all the French troops concentrated there since President Bourguiba succeeded in obtaining their withdrawal from the various places in Tunisia over which they had previously been dispersed.

Wanting to prevent the loss of his position as potential mediator between France and the Algerian liberation forces, and their provisional government, President Bour

to keep his people's enthusiasm for the liberation of Algeria within limits.

One last factor: Though wishing to remain uncommitted in last week's struggle between the French in Algeria, the Tunisian Government has just decided after years of deliberation in favour of forming an international brigade to fight with the Algerian liberation forces.

In France, in the meantime, a reconstruction which bears a close resemblance to a political purge is taking place in the Government, and President de Gaulle's régime has become even more authoritarian than it was.

To turn to an item of news about Africa that is really pleasant: Belgium's colonial rule over the Congo will come to an end on June 30. Agreement to this effect was reached at the end of January in the Round Table Conference between Congolese leaders and the Belgians under the leadership of M. De Schrijver at Brussels. The Congolese struggle for freedom has been shorter than any other that comes readily to mind. Congratulations to both sides.

The boycott

THE proposed boycott of South African goods received wide publicity in the BBC discussion on January 28, when Lady Bonham Carter, one of its most active proponents, dealt with objections raised against it by two economists who, however, shared her detestation of the South African Government's apartheid policy. I am not quite certain whether her third opponent, a South African, also shared it or shared it fully.

Lady Violet admitted that the economic efficiency of the boycott would not be very great—which she considered a minor point. She stressed the one also made by Mr. Siddharaj Dhadda in his letter to Peace News (January 29) that in a matter of this kind it is the moral factor which counts, the more so when it implies a prospective victim's readiness to be the first sufferer.

Tackled on the question why the advocates of the South African boycott were not taking the same action against the Spanish and other régimes repugnant to defenders of human dignity and freedom, Lady Violet pointed out an essential difference. Only in this particular case, she said, was the general public called upon to give expression to the country's feeling of disapproval and disgust, because our Government, instead of condemning the apartheid policy, had most blatantly failed to do so in the United Nations debate on the subject. But it had often been the spokesman of British public opinion in condemning the régimes of these other countries.

Although Lady Violet's points were well made and driven home forcibly, the discussion ended without either side having made much impression upon the other.

What now seems important is that the boycott should be really widely supported in the *honest hope* (the existence of which I personally doubt) that it may entail retaliatory measures meaning some sort of sacrifice for the boycotters. Without this, the British end of the boycott does not strike me as more moral than any other act in which

"de Gaulle au poteau" had become widely popular, and the troops in Algeria were fraternising with the rebels. Few men, in such circumstances, would have dared to deliver a speech the keynote of which would not have been persuasion, compromise, diplomatic ambivalence. What de Gaulle did was simply to command, to threaten punishment for guilty leaders and to re-assert his supremacy. The terrific gamble he took on has succeeded and it is well that it has done so.

The war continues

BUT the Algerian-North African crisis is not finished with this. If it is true that the insurgents have been allocated to the Zeralda sector of the fighting against the Muslim Liberation forces, one direct consequence is bound to be more ruthlessness in the fundamental struggle.

All the frustration felt by those who were in the struggle against the de Gaulle policy and have now been diverted into battling against the Algerians will find its outlet in that direction. And if Lagailarde, who has been flown to Paris and is now reported imprisoned in La Santé, is

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Wanting to prevent the loss of his position as potential mediator between France and the Algerian liberation forces and their provisional government, President Bourguiba may be too wise to take advantage of so shabby an opportunity. But next Monday, February 8, will be the second anniversary of the French bombing of Sakiet—a day of poignant emotionalism for the Tunisians and of particular hatred for France. It is also the day originally fixed for the demanded French evacuation from Bizerta, so that it will need all of Bourguiba's skill

was the general public called upon to give expression to the country's feeling of disapproval and disgust, because our Government, instead of condemning the apartheid policy, had most blatantly failed to do so in the United Nations debate on the subject. But it had often been the spokesman of British public opinion in condemning the régimes of these other countries.

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U.S. prepares A-tests

NEW tunnels for underground nuclear explosions are to be dug in the Nevada Desert proving ground.

This was disclosed last Sunday in the annual report to Congress of the US Atomic Energy Commission.

The report also suggested that the US had stockpiled some previously untried weapons which were ready for testing at any time.

Hunger strike threat

THE villagers of Akrotiri, South Cyprus, threatened last Sunday to go on hunger strike in protest against the village being included in the British military base areas.

The village lies beside an RAF V-bomber base, described by the News Chronicle's Walter Kent as "the Middle East's best airfield."

Akrotiri villagers provide much of the civilian labour on the base.

And now the Sergeant

IN West Germany the defence committee of the Bundestag has accepted a Defence Ministry recommendation to equip the Bundeswehr with American Sergeant missiles.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

The Sergeant is a ground-to-ground missile capable of carrying an atomic warhead. Its range of 70 miles will give West Germany a weapon between the Honest John (15 miles) and the Matador (625 miles).

The Sergeant, which will be supplied to three battalions, was developed from the short-range Corporal, and "is said to be exceptionally mobile and accurate." The Times' Bonn correspondent reported on January 22.

● Dutch Nike missile units are to be stationed permanently in West Germany from this month, Reuter reported the same day.

Missiles for East Germany

THE East German Government will ask its allies for nuclear weapons if the Bonn Government does not stop arming with such weapons.

This was stated in a letter to Dr. Adenauer from Herr Ulbricht, the East German Communist leader. The letter was read over the East German radio on January 26.

● Although West Germany is buying large quantities of missiles, the atomic warheads remain under American control.

Negroes' right to vote

THE US Attorney-General, Mr. Rogers, made public on January 26 a proposed amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1957, designed to prevent Negroes from being denied the right to vote.

The amendment, which was approved by President Eisenhower, would authorise the Federal Courts to appoint "voting referees" with power to issue a certificate to anyone found qualified to vote.

A local official who then denied this person the right to vote, or to have his vote counted, would be liable to proceedings for contempt of court.

Racial discrimination in elections, the Attorney-General said, was "totally inconsistent with our democratic system," and fortunately there had recently been a growing concern with the problem and a strong national determination to end it in all its forms.

British prisons held 21,998 prisoners on January 12. Of these, 6,123 are accommodated three in a cell; Victor Yates, MP, was told in a Written Answer by the Home Secretary on January 28.

The Moroccan Government formally protested on January 23 against the atomic bomb test in the Sahara.

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

Editorial and Publishing Office:

5 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Tel. TERminus 8248

Cables: HOWPA, London.

Distribution office for North America:

20 S. Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Registered as a newspaper. Entered as second class matter, Post Office, Philadelphia, Pa.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Boycott of S. African goods

WE would like to add a few words to your own answer to Rev. Arthur Blaxall's doubts (PN Jan. 22) about the boycott of South African goods. Like you, we would not question Mr. Blaxall's good faith in any way, nor his readiness to take action in support of the oppressed in South Africa; but we would ask him to consider the following points:

1. Those who launched the boycott in this country did it with the explicit support of the mass of the peoples of South Africa. The African National Congress, its allies and the South African Liberal Party have not taken this step lightly, but with the fullest consideration of the alternatives before them, and the economic suffering it may cause.

2. There is no question of employing "evil" to cast out evil," but of employing virtually the only means left of combating apartheid effectively. If there are alternatives, they are the continuation of present injustice, violence and misery; and violent revolution.

3. Retaliation from South Africa may look plausible—but quite apart from the fact that South Africa can ill afford to lose the Commonwealth preferences it enjoys in buying from Britain, moves are *already well under way to make the boycott an international one*. Responses have been received from the US, Germany, France, Holland, Sweden, Australia and Ceylon; and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is following up its resolution, passed in December, supporting the boycott. —**DAVID ENNALS, Vice-Chairman, The Boycott Movement, 293 New Kings Rd., London, S.W.6.**

I THINK the strong feelings about apartheid which have now culminated in the proposed boycott have probably been accentuated by the repeated support of South Africa in the United Nations by the British Government.

Personally I should have liked to see a much greater pressure on our Government on this question. In a reply to my MP, Sir Gerald Wills, who passed my letter on the subject to the Foreign Office last November, Mr. John Profumo, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, indicated that it was the Government's view that "a solution can be achieved through securing the co-operation

of determined attempts to interfere and prevent play taking place, and would risk the possibility of arrest.

These suggestions have as yet met with silence and one hopes that public pressure will be exerted on the Campaign to adopt these proposals, and encouragement from contributors to Peace News would assist in this. However, it is not unlikely that the Campaign will reject any proposals for direct action, and even if they agreed it would be essential to organise and see how many would take part. Also readers of PN may have further ideas on how to show our contempt of racialism. If the nuclear direct actionists would help or take part, their experience would be invaluable. Nuclear weapons may seem more worthy (if that is the word) of direct action, but the future of colour as a social problem may be even more important. At any rate, could anyone interested contact me and we can plan from there with a knowledge of our numbers.

I think the spectacle of Europeans risking imprisonment because South Africa refuses to consider Africans for their cricket teams would stir the feelings of many people—and might even restore a little of the faith Africans in South Africa once had in Europeans. Not that only Europeans are asked to take direct action—we should want to be multi-racial.

Let us show African people that we are not all like Monty and Mac; let us show the world how much the manifestation of apartheid disgusts us! We could make this a memorable summer in the history of Africa by showing that there are no divisions amongst the people but only in the minds of our rulers and corrupters. —**R. J. WESTALL, 48 Huntingdon Rd., London, N.2.**

War on Want

CONGRATULATIONS on your special War on Want issue! There will be many among your readers who would like to join this campaign against world poverty. If they will write to Harry Ireland, National Convener of War on Want Groups, Giel Torrs, Buxton Road, Tideswell, Derbyshire, he will put them in touch with their nearest group or with individual members in their district, with whom they might form yet another group.

There is a vast amount of literature on

domination. About 60 years ago Britain began to liberate the hinterland of West Africa from slavery and inter-tribal wars, and brought to millions, for the first time, freedom, peace, justice, organisation, scientific agriculture and forestry, medical services, the beginnings of education, patient and humane administration—also roads and railways: in short, the opportunity for civilisation.

3. About 90 per cent of what civilisation there is in Africa has been brought thither by the European minority. It is this civilising minority of which Mr. Brockway is so anxious to rid Africa. Among the most important duties of any democracy is the safeguarding of minorities; yet any African democracy in the near future is bound to be so immature, and the passions excited by black and white politicians are already so dangerous that the prospects for the civilising white minorities in Africa are at the moment pretty poor.

4. The great majority of those Britons who now agree with Mr. Brockway would, if they lived in Africa, hold opposite opinions. Much of the typical left wing attitude to Africa stems from lack of knowledge—a lack often worsened by Africans living in Britain. These usually cannot bear to think of their countrymen being less advanced than they are themselves, and so they strive to give the impression that they are typical, whereas they are, in general, about one in ten thousand.

5. British colonial policy—a bi-partisan policy—for some decades has been to guide the colonial peoples to independence. The unnatural acceleration of this policy by Communist anti-West propaganda, by Americans with a grievance against George the Third, and by uninformed Left wing opinion in this country, has made probable serious injustice and a general lowering of standards throughout British Africa. The cry "Let us make our own mistakes" would be reasonable enough if it came from the people, but it comes from a handful of politicians with strong personal and financial interests in "independence." The masses of African peoples are never heard.

6. The direction of events in Africa is clear enough. Nothing is gained by denigrating everything white, whitewashing everything black, and glossing over the manifold dangers that "independence" must bring for the African villager in his

itself as an organisation take political action, except in campaigning for the right to conscientious objection to military service in those countries where such rights do not exist.

We admire Pierre's courage and his single-minded and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of peace for which he has worked for so long, but we sincerely regret any embarrassment which his unauthorised action in joining the protest team may have caused to UNESCO, which has helped us so frequently and generously in the past in our efforts to promote international understanding and to give help where it is most needed. —**DOUGLAS SOWERBY, International President, SCL, 129 Park Avenue, Hull, Yorkshire.**

Youth groups and CND

THE first group of the newly formed Young Socialists at Southend-on-Sea are supporting the local youth group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and now have their own permanent representative on the Southend Youth Group's committee.

Here is a good precedent for other CND Youth groups to get local young Socialists and young Liberals to work more closely with CND. —**DAVID FAIRBANKS, 16a Elderton Rd., Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.**

Harrington debate

I FOR one do not agree with Jack Monagar (PN, January 15) that the Harrington demonstration was a success, nor am I entirely convinced that it was positively non-violent rather than negatively a-violent.

The fact that we were more co-operative with the police in fact meant that we had less contact with them rather than more, as firstly there was less opportunity to talk and secondly there was less demand that they should examine our case—and thus by ravanche their own.

Drama is not the same as exhibitionism, and the fact that we dropped the melodramatic methods involved in climbing irons should not have altered the fact that the prime objective with such a demonstration should have been to non-violently obstruct work, not just to get publicity; this objective was totally lacking.

Not going on with the demonstration (Harrington was not, I think, possible, but there remains the War Office or Watton)

Boycott Movement, 195 New Kings Road, London, S.W.6.

I THINK the strong feelings about apartheid which have now culminated in the proposed boycott have probably been accentuated by the repeated support of South Africa in the United Nations by the British Government.

Personally I should have liked to see a much greater pressure on our Government on this question. In a reply to my MP, Sir Gerald Wills, who passed my letter on the subject to the Foreign Office last November, Mr. John Profumo, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, indicated that it was the Government's view that "a solution can only come through securing the co-operation of the South African Government as the Government which administers the territory."

Your readers can judge for themselves whether this policy of the British Government appears to be succeeding. Personally, although I have had some doubts about the possible effect of the boycott, it seems obvious that the way being tried by the British Government is achieving precisely nothing.—R. W. BARNES, 4 Grange Drive, Bridgewater.

Cricket colour bar

YOU published a letter I wrote last December about the possibility of direct action against the South African all-white cricket team that is due to visit Britain in the summer. Since then I have contacted the Campaign against Racial Discrimination in Sport and I suggested that the following three courses might be taken:

1. A boycott of all matches, both county and Test, in which the South African team are taking part; this would be a personal protest against a team selected to represent South Africa being selected on a racial basis. It might be hoped that the Labour and Liberal parties would support such a boycott.

2. A concerted attempt to persuade cricketers to refuse participation in matches against South Africa, especially Test matches. This might include the organising of a rival multi-racial cricket attraction near to a ground where a Test match is in progress. Invitations might be sent to West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis to take part in such rival attractions. Also the MCC could be approached to cancel the tour.

3. Direct action. This would be planned for a Saturday afternoon of the Lords and Oval Tests (that is for those of us in the London area). The direct action would con-

tinues of our lives and the lives of our children.—R. J. WESTALL, 48 Huntingdon Rd., London, N.2.

War on Want

CONGRATULATIONS on your special "War on Want" issue! There will be many among your readers who would like to join this campaign against world poverty. If they will write to Harry Ireland, National Convener of War on Want Groups, Giel Torrs, Buxton Road, Tideswell, Derbyshire, he will put them in touch with their nearest group or with individual members in their district, with whom they might form yet another group.

There is a vast amount of literature on conditions in under-developed countries and on ways in which governments and individuals are helping. I should be glad to send material for study on a sale or return basis, together with details of the "Partners in Development Plan" to those who are interested.—JESSIE BASTON, Literature Secretary, 171 Cemetery Road, Sheffield 11.

African freedom

AS a keen supporter of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament I am a regular reader of Peace News, but I am shocked every week by the one-sided picture of African affairs presented by your contributor, Mr. Fenner Brockway.

The general trend of Mr. Brockway's articles is that Europeans, especially British, should hand over all political control as soon as possible to Africans, so that "independence," "freedom," and "democracy" can be established throughout the continent. (I put those three words in inverted commas because after the British leave they are likely to go into short supply.)

I have spent 25 years in Africa, working among and for Africans, and would like to remind your readers of some facts they do not learn from Mr. Brockway. These relate to the parts of Africa for which our Parliament are responsible, and not to the completely independent Union of South Africa.

1. Unlike India, most of British Africa has only enjoyed the civilising influence of Britain for less than three generations; yet Mr. Brockway and those who think with him want to hand over its unfortunate peoples at once to the rule of African politicians who have the politicians' usual virtues and vices but very little of the British tradition of political good faith, honesty, and responsibility.

2. Mr. Brockway, in his article of Jan. 22, speaks of African liberation from white

Americans with a grievance against the Third, and by uninformed Left wing opinion in this country, has made probable serious injustice and a general lowering of standards throughout British Africa. The cry "Let us make our own mistakes" would be reasonable enough if it came from the people, but it comes from a handful of politicians with strong personal and financial interests in "independence." The masses of African peoples are never heard.

6. The direction of events in Africa is clear enough. Nothing is gained by denigrating everything white, whitewashing everything black, and glossing over the manifold dangers that "independence" must bring for the African villager in his silent millions. The facile optimism of Mr. Brockway, which can hardly spring from anything but lack of acquaintance with the real Africa, I find appalling.

I would respectfully suggest, Sir, in the interests of truth and justice, that you should either publish both sides of African questions, or amend your title to Peace News and the Left Wing African.—E. F. G. HAIG, Norfolk Cottage, Eversley, Hants.

French A-protester

I SHOULD be grateful if you would correct a mistake which has recently occasioned considerable trouble, though I should add that it has unfortunately appeared in other papers as well as Peace News.

In your report relating to the protest team against the French atomic weapon which appeared in the edition of PN December 11, you stated that Pierre Martin, the French pacifist leader who has joined the protest team, is "a staff member of UNESCO."

Pierre Martin is not a staff member of UNESCO. He is a valued member of the pioneer work-camp organisation, Service Civil International; but he is neither a staff member nor a committee member of SCI. Pierre was on a mission approved by UNESCO and directed by SCI to explore openings for work-camp activities when he met the protest team. He neither asked nor received permission to join the protest team either from SCI or from UNESCO.

Had SCI been approached, the answer would certainly have been "No," since Pierre was working on a project approved by UNESCO; and in any case, though SCI encourages its members to take as individuals and outside the movement whatever political action they feel to be right, and to assume their full share of social and political responsibility in the world, it does not

less contact with them rather than more, as firstly there was less opportunity to talk and secondly there was less demand that they should examine our case—and thus by ravanche their own.

Drama is not the same as exhibitionism, and the fact that we dropped the melodramatic methods involved in climbing irons should not have altered the fact that the prime objective with such a demonstration should have been to non-violently obstruct work, not just to get publicity; this objective was totally lacking.

Not going on with the demonstration (Harrington was not, I think, possible, but there remains the War Office or Watton) meant that we were shorn of any bite, and left as cranks. While I don't mind being considered a lunatic for a cause, I do object to being a harmless lunatic. (God's fool is not thus.)

However, far more significant than this is that Harrington called in question the very fundamentals of non-violence as a positive philosophy. The concept of satyagraha is that one goes to those whom one considers violent and by obstruction take on oneself their violence.

One cannot reconcile with this the almost military preparations for our comfort taken as preparation for this last demonstration; nor actions which although lacking in violence were almost equally lacking in penitential discomfort, and were little better than a publicity stunt.—LAURENS OTTER, St Paul's Lodge, London, E.3.

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'Britain rules the waves,' the boast of the past, should be the patriots plea today—for in the sea lies an answer to the problem of increasing population.

THE IDLE TWO-THIRDS

By Alex Comfort

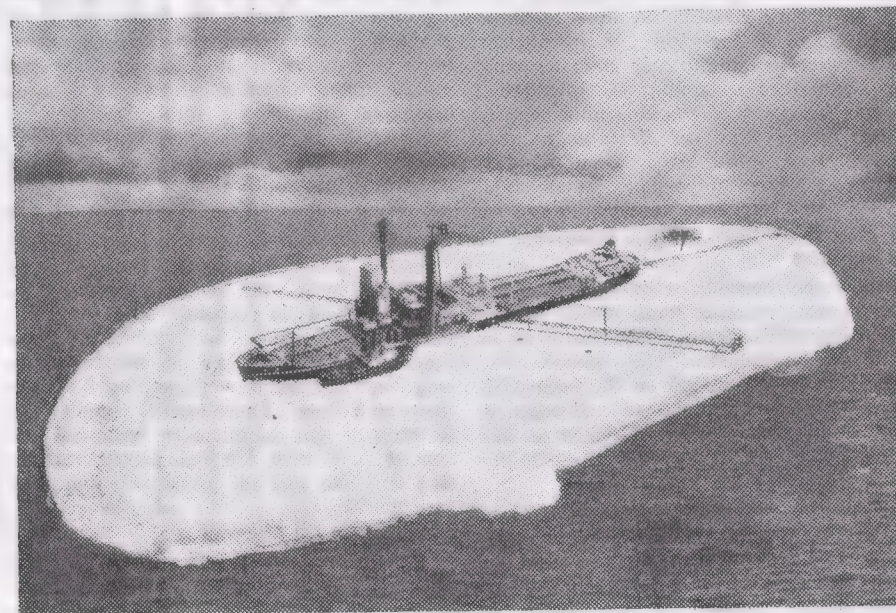
EARLY human society was transformed by the invention of agriculture—it brought about the change from food-gathering and hunting communities like the Aborigines and the Bushmen to settled communities which could support a large population.

The difference between wild grass-seed and the cereal crop, between the crab-apple and the orchard apple, is the measure of the increase in yield which relatively simple and pre-scientific agriculture produced, even by hit-and-miss methods. It made civilisation possible.

The sea covers about two-thirds of the earth's surface and collects a proportionate amount of the sun's energy. It is productive throughout almost all its accessible volume, and even its extremes are probably more fertile than the corresponding extremes on land, if only because organic debris falls. Our present relationships with this source of food are still only very slightly less primitive than the Bushman's relationship to the land, and unlike the Bushman, who lives near enough to starvation to miss nothing which is accessible and edible, our hunting is highly selective (with the vegetable part of the sea's output we do virtually nothing). Lately, to the alarm of biologists, we have taken to using the sea as a general dumping-ground for radioactive waste.

Compared with the cycle of protein production from solar energy on land, which Dr. Pirie described in his article (PN, Jan. 15), protein production on the surface layers of the sea may well be potentially the more efficient, and require less processing. It has also an enormous agricultural advantage which is not normally found on land—that we need worry much less what species are present in the yield.

It is important for the shepherd to keep a "pure culture" of sheep, because both grass and wolves are inedible. But although some fish are more palatable than others, and a few are poisonous, it is usually pos-



How a fish factory might look

sible to calculate marine protein yields in terms of "biomass," total weight of fish per unit volume, without much distinction of kinds—or even, in some cases, total mass of organic matter.

The analogy with sheep is false in another way—we have long since ceased to get mutton by the inefficient and chancy method of hunting it. The prize South-down or Merino is a very different and a more thrifty beast compared with the wild sheep. So is the domestic fish, even when he has not been extensively improved by breeding.

research and experiments

with all such matters, lack of will rather than of potential—will, that is, comparable with the energy devoted to what Dr. Pirie rightly calls "foolish or pernicious research" for various pathological motives,

in good conscience for a return to the idea of ruling the waves—meaning the application of some longstanding British skills in seamanship to the task of making the sea cultivable with a realistic sense of urgency. Even in terms of self-aggrandisement it would pay us handsomely—if only because people are going to listen increasingly to the cultures and ideologies which can feed them, and "know-how" is already beginning to talk louder than strength of the conventional and psychopathological kind.

persuading politicians

We have to play on these considerations—there are many devoted marine biologists, but here, as in all other matters affecting the future of Man, policy control is still in the hands of men who can only be shifted by loud noises, or by the idea of hostility or self-advertisement in one form or another. Scientists cannot advise them—they have to kid them, flannel them or frighten them. Piccard has somehow scared the U.S. Government into paying for his machine.

If we are in for several more generations of pandemic malnutrition while the Establishment plays soldiers and sits on summits, it will be due to a fault, as James Parkinson told Malthus, "not in Nature, but in the ability of Politicians to discover some latent defect in the laws respecting the division and appropriation of Property"—or rather, perhaps, of priorities.

William Tritton

WILL TRITTON died at Nottingham on January 7, aged 70. He was, writes Clarence Tritton, an active founder member of the No Conscription Fellowship and the Peace Pledge Union.

An absolutist CO in World War I, he was imprisoned at Lewes and then overlooked by the military authorities for a long time—which he spent at Woodbrooke Quaker Settlement. Later he was again arrested and sent to Oxford prison, where he was very seriously ill and among the last of the COs to be released.

Compared with the cycle of protein production from solar energy on land, which Dr. Pirie described in his article (PN, Jan. 15), protein production on the surface layers of the sea may well be potentially the more efficient, and require less processing. It has also an enormous agricultural advantage which is not normally found on land—that we need worry much less what species are present in the yield.

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research and experiments

Unlike sheep, the growth rate of fish depends directly on food intake, and in many cases there is no effective maximum size. We can see the consequences of this very convenient behaviour in the highly efficient fish-raising economies of the Far East, where freshwater fish of large, edible kinds are kept in the flooded paddies and canals (which they keep free of malaria) growing very fast and producing a constant and practically waste-free source of good protein. The fecundity of fish, moreover, is enormous, so that even slight protection and feeding vastly increase the numbers reaching useful size.

Fisheries research is at present largely concerned with conservation and population statistics—both of great importance—because the relatively concentrated fishing of a few species in a few areas makes control necessary if overfishing is to be avoided. But we shall have to go very much beyond this as our own population growth increases. The first step is obviously to substitute cultivation for hunting and food-gathering.

It is possible, with a certain amount of expense, to "fence" areas of sea—lochs and fjords in particular—and cultivate fish in them. The experiments of Gross's team at Loch Sween during and after the war showed that in a sea loch of this kind fertilisers dumped directly in the sea returned quite rapidly in added biomass of fish and of fish-food. The control of fish under these domestic conditions has since become much easier with the discovery that their movements can be directed by electric currents, and this technique is already in use both for fishing and for fencing hydro-electric machinery inlets to keep fish out.

Even without special techniques, however, coastal waters could already provide much of the extra protein needed. The chief problem in getting and using it is, as

others, perishability is one, palatability and prejudice are others.

Fish caught in bulk must either be preserved by refrigeration, carried alive, or eaten and processed relatively close to the point of catching, and the populations which are shortest of protein live in the hottest parts of the world: they also include a number of peoples who have an ingrained distaste for fish products. Research has already gone a long way to render not only the protein but also the oils from processed fish tasteless; synthetic "milk" can be made experimentally in this way—the present objective is an inoffensive protein additive which can be included in flours, breads or soups without making them "fishy."

There is no reason, too, why we should not develop methods of fish-rearing in parts of the sea away from land-based fishing. Fish can be controlled in their movements environmentally or behaviourally as well as electrically. The shepherds of large parts of the world do not fence in their sheep but move with them.

My picture is a pure flight of fancy (it may be nonsense, that is, and nobody knows if such an arrangement would work), but it shows a factory ship surrounded by a "float" of artificially stabilised foam containing nitrogen-fixing bacteria and algae, which draws fertiliser from the air and carries a complete ecological food-chain on its underside, the crop being processed on the spot. We could certainly, at least, harvest the plankton of natural sea surfaces, as the whales do.

beneath the upper layers?

All these forms of "mariculture" affect only the upper layers: what could be had lower down we still do not know, though this week Piccard's bathyscaphe, by reaching the bottom of the Challenger Deep at 7½ miles, has shown that we can get there if necessary (this, incidentally is almost as remarkable an achievement as the sputnik: its originator has succeeded in getting Government backing, after years of propaganda, solely because the sea bottom has become militarily important).

Dr. Pirie has already mentioned the steps which should be in train, not merely in speculative discussion, in any country which has a social conscience today—or, for that matter, ambitions of international leadership. I am suggesting others.

Patriots, whether traditional or internationalist, might now set about agitating

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MEETINGS

DOES IT MATTER WHAT I BELIEVE?
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LITERATURE

CONTACT—a South African Liberal fortnightly

SOME STATE MUST RAISE THIS IN THE U.N. *Forced labour for five-year-olds in Portuguese Africa*

I HAVE to come to America to learn the truth about Portuguese Africa!

I have read what I could in London: John Gunther's "Inside Africa," Basil Davidson's writings, and such other information as is available. But Angola and Mozambique remained substantially unknown.

Now, in one hour in New York, I have learned more than all these sources have provided. I have met one of the six representatives of the African movement in Angola who have escaped across the frontiers to tell the outside world what is happening.

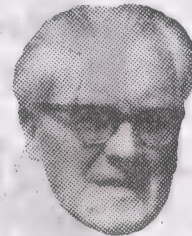
Before I tell this dramatic and moving story, let me comment belatedly but necessarily on two items of news from London. The conference on Kenya's future was held up because the African delegation wanted Peter Mbiyu Koinange to act as an adviser. The Kenya and British Governments would not admit him because they allege he was one of the organisers of the Mau Mau violence. Peter characterised this as a lie, and I can endorse his repudiation. He was in London before Mau Mau began and he came to England to put forward African claims politically and constitutionally.

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, described Joseph Murumbi as a second African in London who would be arrested if he returned to Kenya as an instigator of Mau Mau. I have the best reasons for knowing this to be untrue. Also, Joseph was in Nairobi when Leslie Hale, MP, and I issued our appeal to Africans in 1952 to have nothing to do with Mau Mau. Joseph stencilled that appeal and organised its distribution by the thousand.

Trouble over bases

The second news item from London on which I must comment is the postponement of the independence of Cyprus owing to a difference of opinion about the extent of British military bases on the island. The acceptance of bases was part of the Zurich agreement which ended the five-year hostil-

ity north-west. I learned there of a great adventure of a student at the University. With two students from New York he had travelled to South West Africa to find the truth of the situation there. Their car was burnt out by the European settlers, but they succeeded in obtaining tape-recorded evi-



By
**FENNER
BROCKWAY**
MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

ence from representative Africans of the repression of which the South African Government is guilty.

They brought back their evidence to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, and what they reported was largely responsible for the rejection by UN of the shameful compromise which was proposed. I salute these young American students for their service to Africa.

Now the news given to me about Portuguese Africa.

I was most shocked by the evidence of forced labour, which extends even to children of five years. These are the approximate figures given to me:

From 5 to 14 years old	100,000
From 15 to 50	500,000
From 50 to 70	100,000

The victims are recruited from the villages through African supervisors called Regedores. When the villagers hear of their coming the most alert flee to the forests to avoid being conscripted. Those who fall into the hands of the Regedores are distributed among the Portuguese owners of

seized ruthlessly by the Portuguese. The Africans are compelled to leave their villages without compensation and are sent to arid land. Four names of areas confiscated for exclusive Portuguese use were cited: Cela, Matala, Libollo and Amboim.

It is alleged that the African population is being systematically reduced so that Angola may become a white country with only an African labour class. Thousands flee to the Belgian Congo for a livelihood. Thousands die from malnutrition diseases and tuberculosis. The African population decreased from 4,000,000 to 2,000,000 between 1900 and 1950. At the same time the Portuguese population increased from 9,000 to 300,000.

In 1958 some courageous Africans formed the Angola People's Union. It demands human rights and independence. By secret organisation it has spread throughout Angola, but any African who voices these claims openly is imprisoned, sent to concentration camps, or, I am told, even beaten to death.

A document containing these allegations has been sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations by the six African leaders who have escaped into exile. The difficulty is that Portugal declines to admit that its territories in Africa are colonies. It declares they are provinces of Portugal and accordingly refuses to submit to the UN the annual reports on social and economic progress required from Governments in respect of their colonies.

Challenge from Africa

The Portuguese Government claims that educated Africans can become citizens of Portugal, but it fails to give all except officials the opportunity of education above the lowest standard. Indeed, the Christian missions have been refused permission to employ qualified teachers who could provide higher education.

The farcical nature of African citizenship of Portugal is shown by the numbers registered as "evolved." In Angola there are 30,000. In Mozambique only 4,349 out of

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Trouble over bases

The second news item from London on which I must comment is the postponement of the independence of Cyprus owing to a difference of opinion about the extent of British military bases on the island. The acceptance of bases was part of the Zurich agreement which ended the five-year hostilities, but I said from the first that they would cause trouble. The Cypriot people do not want them, and they certainly will not willingly accept the extensive bases which the British Government is demanding.

One item of news which I have gleaned in America before I tell what I heard from the African from Angola.

I began my American series of Colonial Freedom lectures in Seattle, far away in the

gauche Africa. I was most shocked by the evidence of forced labour, which extends even to children of five years. These are the approximate figures given to me:

From 5 to 14 years old	100,000
From 15 to 50	500,000
From 50 to 70	100,000

The victims are recruited from the villages through African supervisors called Regedores. When the villagers hear of their coming the most alert flee to the forests to avoid being conscripted. Those who fall into the hands of the Regedores are distributed among the Portuguese owners of coffee and cocoa plantations, mines and fisheries.

The forced labour continues up to two years. Families are divided and often are never reunited. Working hours are from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m., Sunday included. Payment is 20 dollars (£7) for twelve months.

I was assured that other Africans are compelled to work on roads and bridges without any payment at all.

The richest land, I was informed, is being

LEIGH, LANCs. : 7.30 p.m. Independent Methodist Schoolroom, The Avenue. "The Cross and the Bomb." Max Parker. For.

MANCHESTER : 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Max Parker, Gen. Sec. For.

WOLVERHAMPTON : 7.30 p.m. Lecture Hall, Darlington St. Methodist Church. "Central Africa." Guy Clutton-Brock. Chair: Sir G. Mander. Council for African Affairs.

Wednesday, February 10

LONDON, W.C.1 : 7.45 p.m. Student Movement Ho., 103, Gower St. "Divided Germany—Bridgehead or Bridge?" The Rev. Leslie G. Hayman.

Thursday, February 11

LONDON, N.13 : 8 p.m. Bowes Pk. Methodist Youth Club. "The Need of This Hour—Trained Peace Makers." The Rev. Leslie G. Hayman.

LONDON, N.W.11 : 7.45 p.m. 23, Russell Gdns., off Golders Green Rd. "Direct Action; by Whom for What?" Chris Farley. PPU.

NEWBURY : 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Highfield Av. AGM. films: "Harrington" & "It's a Grand Life." CND.

Sunday, February 14

LONDON, N.16 : 8 p.m. Green Lanes Methodist Youth Fellowship. "Divided Germany—Bridgehead or Bridge?" (Coloured Slides). The Rev. Leslie G. Hayman.

Saturday, February 13

LONDON, S.W.2 : 10 a.m. Assemble Brixton Prison, Brixton Hill, for Brixton to Holloway March to coincide with the release of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. DAC.

Monday, February 15

LONDON, W.C.1 : 6.30 p.m. 6, Endsleigh St. New Series on "Things We Would Like to Abolish"—Capital Punishment & Prisons. Frank Dawtry. 6 p.m. Refreshments. Central London PPU.

Challenge from Africa

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The farcical nature of African citizenship of Portugal is shown by the numbers registered as "evolved." In Angola there are 30,000. In Mozambique only 4,349 out of a population of 6,000,000.

Now that these charges are reaching the outside world, I hope a Member State of the Afro-Asian group will insist on raising them in the United Nations. The day has passed when any European Government can treat an African people in this way without challenge from Africa's independent states—and from the moral opinion of the world.

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LONDON, S.W.1 : 7.30 p.m. Central Hall Meeting. Michael Foot, J. B. Priestley, Bertrand Russell, A. J. P. Taylor, Dr. Donald Soper. Chair: Canon L. John Collins. CND.

SURREY : 8 p.m. Methodist Church, New Malden. "Our Christian Responsibility for Peace-making." The Rev. Leslie G. Hayman.

Tuesday, February 16

LONDON, W.C.1 : 8 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32, Tavistock Sq. "The Need of This Hour—Trained Peacemakers." (Coloured Slides.) The Rev. Leslie G. Hayman.

Wednesday, February 17

EDMONTON : 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Fore St. "The Political Implications of Pacifism." Bob Walsh (Fellowship Party). PPU.

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WEDNESDAYS

LONDON : 7 p.m. 5, Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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Civil Defence farce continues

THE British Home Secretary again demonstrated last week that he had no defence for a Government which had no defence.

Konni Zilliacus, MP, referred to the Thor missiles now operational at 15 minutes' notice and asked the Home Secretary whether the Government's civil defence policy as stated on November 21, 1957 (which included evacuating 12,000,000 people when hostilities started) still stood as policy.

Mr. Butler dodged the issue in a Written Answer on January 28 by stating that the new developments in missiles "do not affect the need to plan to take full advantage for purposes of civil defence of any period of alert."

Mr. Zilliacus also asked the Home Secretary whether he could "announce the decisions reached in his discussions with local authorities associations on civil defence evacuation policy." He reminded Mr. Butler of his statement on November 17, 1957, that these discussions were then proceeding.

The Home Secretary replied that the Government's re-examination of the proposals discussed "is still proceeding."

Ulster is British—Algerie Francaise!

LAST week in Belfast there was a memorable theatrical first night. There had been so much argument



Filing Day!

To the Editor

MOST PN readers will already know about the Brixton to Holloway march which we are organising as a demonstration of sympathy with the six members of the Committee who were jailed for two months for refusing to give assurances about their behaviour towards the Government's missile bases.

The march, which begins at 10 a.m. from Brixton prison, will take place on the day they are due to be released, Sat., Feb. 13. It is anticipated that at the short meeting which will end the march at Holloway one of the imprisoned people will speak.

We hope that as many people as possible will come on the march both in support of the six and as part of the continuing protest against H-bomb madness.—IAN DIXON, Secretary, Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, 344, Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4.

1361 Act stands

A MOTION for permission to introduce a Bill to repeal the Justices of the Peace Act, 1361, was defeated in the House of Commons last week.

The Act gives magistrates the power to bind over people of "good faith" who they believe may break the law in the future. It was this Act which was used in December against the six members of the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War because they urged people to break the law at a civil disobedience demonstration at the Harrington rocket base.

Proposing the motion on January 26, Mr. Leslie Hale (Labour) said: "If there is anything more contemptible than to say to a man of good character, brought before a court, 'We ask you to abjure your faith. If you will you can go free,' I should like to know what it is."

Mr. Peter Rawlinson (Conservative), who opposed the motion, made no direct reference to the members of the Direct Action Committee, but argued that the act was

The play should be of interest to pacifists and socialists outside Ulster, and I hope they'll get a chance to see it. Its strength lies in its persuasive vindication of trade

News-Letter, arguing that there was a close parallel between the settler revolt in Algeria and the Unionist revolt in Ulster in 1914. "In both cases we see the metropolitan

authorities' associations on evacuation policy." He reminded Mr. Butler of his statement on November 17, 1957, that these discussions were then proceeding.

The Home Secretary replied that the Government's re-examination of the proposals discussed "is still proceeding."

Ulster is British—Algerie Francaise!

LAST week in Belfast there was a memorable theatrical first night. There had been so much argument about Sam Thompson's shipyard play "Over the Bridge" that everyone with any interest in the theatre was anxious to see it.

It was accepted last year by the Group Theatre (a small company specialising in Ulster plays) but was withdrawn when rehearsals began because it was "too controversial." Several actors and some of the directors resigned in protest, and a new production was arranged at the (much larger) Empire Theatre.

The play deals uninhibitedly with the most sensitive issue in northern Irish politics, the relations between Protestants and Catholics. The climax of the play is an attack on a Catholic workman by a shipyard mob, after an explosion allegedly caused by the IRA. A Protestant trade unionist, who champions the Catholic's right to work, gets killed.

SECTARIAN HATRED

A good many Ulstermen consider that the play is misleading because it implies that such an incident is representative of Belfast in 1960. It belongs, they would say, rather to the 'twenties. Sam Thompson, however, thinks that such mob-violence is still latent, and could break out again. As he's a shipyard worker himself, he ought to know, and no one could deny that, whatever the technical faults of the play, most of it certainly strikes a Belfast audience as authentic.

What is hopeful is that Thompson has obviously tried to consolidate public feeling against sectarian hatred, and succeeded triumphantly, on the first night at least. It was rumoured that Ulster Protestant Action planned to picket the theatre, but I saw no sign of its supporters. Very wise too. It would have been like the Navy League picketing "On the Beach."

The play should be of interest to pacifists and socialists outside Ulster, and I hope they'll get a chance to see it. Its strength lies in its persuasive vindication of trade union ethics, exalting the virtue of solidarity, yet doing this without overmuch idealisation. (The weakest part of the play is the idealised trade unionist who lays down his life for his Catholic comrade.)

Sam Thompson makes no attempt to present a specially favourable view of the

By Geoffrey Carnall

unions. The League of Individualists could pick out all the evidence it wanted from "Over the Bridge" to prove that trade unions have a stranglehold on industry. The Plymouth Brother's conscience compels him to resign from his union, and so he loses his job. The "I'm all right, Jack," shipyard Tory breaks a union rule on overtime, and nearly loses his job too. ("If you paid him time-and-a-half," says an exasperated union official, "he'd work the Two Minutes' silence.")

But to the extent that anything stands between the Catholic worker and the Protestant mob, it is this same union, even though its faltering weakness on this occasion is a humiliating contrast to the smooth working of its machinery when the rule-book disposes of the Plym and the Tory.

An English reader may think that the attempted suppression of a play like this is an example of Ulster backwardness. The fact that the play was after all put on is merely a sign that Belfast is catching up with civilisation, and is now only 30 or 40 years behind the times.

But it is not quite so simple as that. The real significance of "Over the Bridge" is suggested by a letter in last Friday's Belfast

News-Letter, arguing that there was a close parallel between the settler revolt in Algeria and the Unionist revolt in Ulster in 1914. "In both cases we see the metropolitan Government trying to force away a metropolitan province . . . the army refusing to support the Government and refusing to use force against their fellow-countrymen." The writer might have added that the Unionist slogan "Ulster is British" has a striking similarity to "Algerie française."

Our Muslims, of course, are the Irish Catholics. And if the struggle is not now nearly so bitter as it is in Algeria, this is because the parties are socially more on a level and less segregated. You still hear Protestants talking of Catholics much as old-fashioned gentlewomen talk of the lower classes: they are unreliable, untruthful, and dirty.

CATHOLIC v. PROTESTANT

But this prejudice is weakening, and the fear of the Protestants is rather that the Catholics are getting well-off, finding their way into dangerously influential positions, and are, in short, "taking over." If some Unionists think that Catholics ought to be welcome to their party, the ruling opinion is that Catholics in the Unionist Party would be like Communists at NATO. The enemy is never more dangerous than when he has a smile on his face.

Nevertheless, Catholics and Protestants can talk to each other. They may still find it difficult to enter into one another's minds about the relation between Church and State. Protestants here may still fear that in a united Ireland their standard of living would go down and that they would be discriminated against. But at least, as Sam Thompson's play shows, there is a growing sense of a common human solidarity which seems past hoping for in Algeria.

The only consolation is, that in 1914 it must have seemed past hoping for in Ireland.

December against the six members of the Direct Action Committee, against Nuclear War because they urged people to break the law at a civil disobedience demonstration at the Harrington rocket base.

Proposing the motion on January 26, Mr. Leslie Hale (Labour) said: "If there is anything more contemptible than to say to a man of good character, brought before a court, 'We ask you to abjure your faith. If you will you can go free,' I should like to know what it is."

Mr. Peter Rawlinson (Conservative), who opposed the motion, made no direct reference to the members of the Direct Action Committee, but argued that the act was useful because it could be used not only against people who wished to take the law into their own hands but also against "peeping toms and eavesdroppers."

The motion was defeated by 230 votes to 148.

Foulness: Civil disobedience

VOLUNTEERS have started to come forward for the next civil disobedience campaign in Britain, to be held at the Foulness nuclear weapons plant near Southend-on-Sea, Essex.

The project, which will involve non-violent obstruction of the entrance to the area taken over by the military, is planned for a week-end shortly after Easter, though the final date has not yet been announced.

Intensified leafletting in neighbouring areas will start this weekend, following preliminary propaganda work which has been under way for several weeks.

Secretary of the local committee organising the project is Ruth Townsend (22 Inverness Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex) who is also secretary of her local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Group.

Last week Peace News reported that a radical direct action demonstration is planned for one of the Yorkshire missile bases—probably Driffield—on July 30. The co-ordinator of the preparatory committee for this demonstration is Francis Deutsch, 290 Beverley Road, Hull.

Published by Peace News Ltd., 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1, and printed in Gt. Britain by Goodwin Press Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, London, N.4.

Filing Day!

'We ask you: Help this action to go on'

THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT, LEADER OF THE PROTEST TEAM AGAINST NUCLEAR TESTS IN THE SAHARA, HAS FLOWN TO CASABLANCA, MOROCCO. HE IS FOLLOWING UP INVESTIGATIONS INTO A POSSIBLE NEW ATTEMPT BY HIS TEAM TO REACH THE TESTING AREA FROM MOROCCO.

He flew there from Tunis, where he had been attending the All Africa People's Conference.

The team, which is attempting to make a non-violent entry into the area near Reggan in order to try to halt the test, has already been thrown out of French territory three times after crossing the border from Ghana into the Upper Volta.

The rest of the team is waiting in Accra to hear the results of Michael Scott's mission.

In the Ghana capital there have been large demonstrations on the last two Saturdays. On January 23, 600 students from the University College of Accra demonstrated outside the French Embassy. Then last Saturday several activists from the Convention People's Party (the Government Party) also demonstrated outside the same building.

French condemn

The *Federation de l'Education Nationale*, which comprises all the teachers' unions in France and has a membership of more than 250,000, unanimously condemned atomic tests by all countries (including France) at a meeting early last month.

The following is Michael Scott's message to the All Africa People's Conference at Tunis:

The Sahara Protest Team and the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament send their fraternal greetings to the All Africa People's Conference and wish it all possible success in the deliberations which will be of decisive importance for Africa and her peoples.

In particular it commends to the urgent attention of the Conference the imminent threat by the Government of France to use African territory for the testing of nuclear weapons, a course which can only increase the slow poisoning of the earth and atmosphere by radio-activity, and may, in the event of war, draw Africa into its orbit and spell sudden death and destruction to millions of human beings.

press on behalf of the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament:

I have been asked by the Sahara Protest Team and the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament, from whom its main support has been derived, to appeal to the All Africa People's Conference to enable it to go forward and to take further action to stop France using African soil to test her atom bombs.

The French Government in Paris and the authorities of the French African territory of Upper Volta have for eight weeks forcibly prevented our appeals being made to the people of the Upper Volta by ordering armed guards to seize leaflets from the hands of people the team was distributing them to, by the seizure of our vehicles, stores, loud-speakers and equipment and finally by arresting the members of the team themselves carrying them bodily into a police van and importing them 80 miles back on to the frontier between Haute Volta and Ghana.

These actions have extended over the period of the last eight weeks up to last week when the final action took place on foot past the town of Bittu. The loss of vehicles, equipment and stores, and physical obstruction of every attempt to proceed by other means, makes it necessary to address an urgent appeal both to the leaders of the All Africa People's Conference and also to the Peoples of the French African territories surrounding the Sahara.

Guards disapprove

Although many of these territories are still subordinate to France and to the French policy of utilising Algeria and Sahara for increasing the supposed prestige power and enrichment of France, the fact is, from what we were able to observe, that the African people in Haute Volta (including the African guards under French command) disapprove of this and strongly disliked doing what they were ordered to

vehicles as well as stores and equipment including loud-speaker tape recordings of our manifesto in the French, Arabic and Hausa languages. And we are in need of another and more long range transmitter.

But I have been asked to explore here the possibility of making another or perhaps more than one other approach, either



Michael Scott waiting to address a rally in Accra in support of the international team challenging the French nuclear test at Reggan in the Sahara.

through one of the other independent African states, as we tried to do through Ghana, or through Nigeria or one of the other French African territories. One of our team members, a Frenchman himself named Pierre Martin, who had fasted for 12 days in protest against France's action, has just been deported not only from Dahomey but even from the United Nations trust territory of Togoland under French administration, though the people had arranged a welcome for him. (He is to appeal to the Trusteeship Council against this.)

dience and non-violent direct action can still at this last hour help to save the soul of France and soil of Africa from the destructive violence that is being committed and being prepared to be committed.

Finally we believe, and have learned in eight weeks of true comradeship together under very difficult conditions, that ours is a struggle not only against a new form of nuclear imperialist menace but is also a struggle against all the old and outworn ideas and false faith and fanaticisms of race theories, including all those distorted religions and beliefs about what Christ and other prophets are believed to have taught, but which are inadequate to explain the great universe in which we live, and inadequate to the great new era into which mankind is moving at a speed faster than the light of empirical knowledge and pure mathematics can guide him.

It would be a tragedy if, in the struggle against the old imperialism and the old ideas that went with it, Africa were to become infected by them or fail to free itself from the grip of these outworn notions of race and nation and to enable its people to meet this threat of the new nuclear Imperialism. Clearly there are many African leaders who sense these dangers and are finding their way to the vision of another future for this great continent than what Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has warned against as the attempted Balkanisation of Africa. That all belongs to other subjects under the consideration of delegates to this Conference.

All must resist

Finally I have been asked to give the Chairman of the Conference a flag. It was designed and made by the Ghanaian members of the Sahara Protest Team. Its colours are black and white and they are equal in value and importance. Thus it symbolises, in the words of Mr. Gbedemah which I was asked to convey to you, the fact that the atom bomb is a threat to all humanity not only to Africa. As such it is all humanity of whatever race or